

**ADULT AGE DIFFERENCES IN INTRINSIC AND
EXTRINSIC RELIGIOUS MOTIVATION**

by

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ABSTRACT

The present study sought to identify factors that contribute to adult age differences in religious motivation. Following results from prior research, it was predicted that there would be an increased in intrinsic religious motivation associated with senescence. It was also predicted that this increase in intrinsic motivation would be associated with age-related changes in personality characteristics such as an increase in introversion and an increase in feelings of an internal locus of control. Although a significant increase in intrinsic religious was observed, there were no meaningful relationships found between changes in religious motivation and changes in personality. It was concluded that changes in religious motivation may possibly be accounted for by either an over-all age-related change in motivation or by a complex interaction between personality characteristics and an individual's religious needs.

INTRODUCTION

The process of empirically investigating religiousness as well as its relation to other aspects of our thoughts, attitudes, and behaviours has always been difficult. This has mainly been attributed to the difficulty in defining exactly what religiousness encompasses. Earlier theoretical thinking on religiousness tended to view it either as a behaviour, a system of beliefs, or a particular emotion (Bouma 1970). Although the debate over definitions continues, it has been more consistent with the way the word is used to say it covers all of these areas (Parsons 1976).

A more recent example of a multifaceted definition of religiousness was offered by Cornwall, Albrecht, Cunningham and Pitcher (1986). These researchers reviewed numerous studies on religiosity and identified three main components of religion: Cognitive, Affective and Behavioural. The cognitive component of religion and religiosity is the way that we think about, analyze and evaluate religious information around us. Connected with this is our emotional reaction of this evaluation. Our resultant behaviour will be intimately tied up with our emotional reaction whether that behaviour is in the form of actions or voiced attitudes. Taken together, the work of both Bouma and Cornwall, et al. clearly

illustrate the confusion about what comprises religious behaviour. Despite this confusion about the precise definition of religiosity, all researchers agree that it forms a central core of the personality of some individuals. Moreover, there is a central consensus that an individual's religiosity can in turn have a profound effect on other aspects of life.

The main questions I decided to address in this study focused on the relationship that an individual's religion and religiosity have with other areas of their lives and lifestyle. Specifically, this study sought to determine the nature of age differences religious motivation and the way in which individuals express their personal religiousness. For example, elderly adults are stereotypically thought to be more religious than are younger individuals. Is this age-related increase in religiousness demonstrated in other areas of their lives as well?

Secondly, I focused on the area of intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivation to determine patterns of age-related differences in these two variables. Much of the research in the study of religiosity has been devoted to this area. An examination of the area of locus of control was also conducted to discover if a relation to intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivation existed.

Thirdly, I decided to address the area of personality with the aim of determining if patterns in individual personality traits were related to religious behaviours and motivations.

In beginning to understand these relationships it is hoped to be able to gain a deeper understanding of how religion and religiosity is affected by and in turn affects other areas of behaviour. Because the scientific study of religion is not an easy one, mainly due to the subjectivity and nature of the area, it is hoped that this study can add to present knowledge in an objective and practical way.

RESEARCH ON INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC RELIGIOUS MOTIVATION

As previously mentioned, one of this study's purposes was to look at the area of religion and how we express our religiosity. Religious motivation is the most prominent and well researched area in the study of religion and will be addressed in this section.

Much of the research examining individual religiosity has been devoted to the study of "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" religion. These two concepts were initially put forward by Allport and Ross (1967). Their ideas have stimulated both empirical data collection and theoretical analyses which have been fruitful. Donahue (1985)

counted 70 published employing Allport's Religious Orientation Scale and concluded that no approach to religiousness has had greater impact on the empirical study of the psychology of religion. There can be little doubt that framework has generated a great deal of empirical research over the last couple of decades. In this sense it has been a boon to the field both in terms of the validity and reliability of statistical results.

Briefly, what is meant the terms "intrinsic motivation" and "extrinsic motivation"? The extrinsically motivated person uses his or her religion. In other words, religion might be used as a crutch in a time of crisis in which the individual uses religion for the moment and then discards it when it is not needed. Secondly religion might be used for other benefits that help the individual or make a person look good to other people (Hodge, 1972). In essence extrinsic religious motivation is defined as an instrument based on selfish motivations.

In contrast, an intrinsically motivated individual is someone who lives his or her religion and strives for spiritual growth, spiritual knowledge and understanding. Hunt and King (1971) reviewed much of Allport's earlier writings and proposed a more specific definition. Intrinsic religiousness is religion as a meaning-endowing

framework in terms of which all life is understood. For intrinsically motivated individual's religion is the most important motivating factor. The intrinsic individual does not desire any external benefits but strives for internal personal growth rather than the acting out of a superficial religiousness that has no depth (Rychlak, 1977). Extrinsic religiousness is the religion of comfort and social convention, a self-serving instrumental approach shaped to suit oneself. The intrinsic individual may be motivated to attend church for the purpose of achieving personal growth and inner peace while the extrinsic individual may be motivated by external factors such as socializing with friends and aiming to look good in the community.

A number of other researchers have constructed scales to measure these two attitudes. Feagin (1964) used 22 items derived from Allport's theories and gave them to 286 Catholics. Factor analysis yielded two clear divisions between intrinsically and extrinsically motivated individuals. Allen and Spilka (1967) found that intrinsic as compared with extrinsically religious people are less prejudiced, go to church more often, say more private prayers, are more sure of their beliefs, feel their lives are more meaningful and trust other people more easily. Extrinsically motivated

individuals saw religion as a means to an end, such as living a happy and peaceful life. Allport and Ross (1969) found that 35 percent of church members could be classed as intrinsic, the remainder being extrinsic or a combination of both.

The actual concept of intrinsic-extrinsic religious motivation has been criticized by some researchers in this area. Hunt and King (1971) suggested that these concepts have not been operationally defined, and may not be opposites as they had been viewed in earlier research. Hunt and King also propose the differences found in studies using these concepts may be due to general differences in personality variables.

Research by Brown (1962) resulted in an extension of the original theory. Brown suggests that extrinsic motivation may be of two types, "inner" and "outer." According to Brown the inner type involves the use of religion as a personality support in a time of crisis; it coincides with the comment that for some people religion is a "crutch" The outer type involves the use of religious membership and participation for social purposes, such as meeting the right people, gaining social standing and acceptance in the community or even selling insurance. Although these concepts have undergone a long development, some confusion still exists mainly in

terms of definition and how well these ideas have been operationally defined. Further criticisms of this theory will be left for later discussion.

PERSONALITY AND RELIGION

As mentioned in the introduction section, I decided to address the area of religion and personality to see if any patterns in personality traits related to religiosity in the individual.

The area of personality and religiousness has in many ways been a hotbed of debate even before the relationship between the two had begun to receive careful attention. It has widely been believed that religion has some marked effect upon the personality of individuals. Unfortunately, the study of personality often excludes the role of religion and how it shapes our interests, attitudes, values, goals and behaviours. Past research has been lacking within this area and there are inherent difficulties when one attempts to measure the impact of religion on personality. To what degree do religious individuals have distinctive kinds of personality? And if there are differences which causes which? It may be the case that people with certain kinds of personality are more likely to develop particular beliefs and religious practices as some theories

postulate. Because large percentages of the population are involved in religious practices large differences in personality may not be found between different groups. Perhaps any personality-religion links can only be found for certain groups of the population (Argyle & Pelin, 1965).

It appears that on the quantitative side relationships between religiosity and personality traits are non-existent. More recent statistical studies, however, have shown that some correlational relationship does exist between religion and personality. Meadow and Kahoe (1984) found that intrinsic religious motivation correlated .09 with neuroticism, while extrinsic religious motivation correlated .58 with this personality trait. A study by Kwilecki (1986) attempted to discover the nature of the personality-religion relationship. One of Kwilecki's most influential studies involved qualitative research into the lives of two individuals who lived in Revolutionary America. Although the scope of this particular study was modest, it went into an area that research had neglected, that is, to frame the possible ways that personality traits and religious orientation may be related. Kwilecki's conclusions suggest with reasonable confidence two main hypotheses: Firstly, a relationship exists between introversion and extraversion and

religious orientation and secondly, personality factors play a role in the development of an individual's religious orientation. Some early theories suggest that religious involvement may meet the demands of a certain kind of person, so that personality mechanisms may sustain religious activity.

LOCUS OF CONTROL AND RELIGIOSITY

One specific aspect of personality investigated by this study regards the relationship between an individual's sense, or locus, of control of their life and their religious motivation. Specifically, what relationship is there between intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivation and internal and external sense of control of one's life? In the initial development of his scale to measure locus of control Rotter (1966) attempted to differentiate between individuals who generally see themselves as having control over what happens to them and those who see forces outside of themselves, such as fate, luck, chance or the system as having this control. Rotter hypothesized that the perception of either internal or external control is in large part a function of the extent to which one has in the past actually experienced such control. Research on the locus of control construct has recently focused on the validity of applying Roter's scale to assess the construct in a number of different

populations. Although this present study uses the original Rotter scale in measuring locus of control, there have been revision of this scale for use with highly religious populations. This study, however, chose to incorporate the original scale for two reasons.

A study by Jackson and Coursey (1988) revealed that locus of control scores accurately predicted intrinsic religious motivation. More specifically, they found that individuals scoring high on internal locus of control were more likely to be intrinsically motivated towards religion. External locus of control was not related to either extrinsic or intrinsic religious motivation. Unfortunately, Jackson and Coursey did not choose to put forward an explanation as to why this relation occurred, so we are left to formulate our own ideas. Perhaps the internal focus of the intrinsically motivated individual is so much a part of their very nature that it would be reasonable to assume that they have an internal locus of control as well, or at least are more orientated towards that way of perceiving the world in which they live.

A theory proposed by Pargament and Sullivan (1982) postulated that three groups exist when looking at the relationship between locus of control and religious motivation. The central issue is one of 'control' and where this control was perceived to be situated.

Individuals who are high in external locus of control were labelled as 'deffering', that is, they placed control outside of themselves and even in a higher being such as God. Some studies have found that this style of perception is positively correlated with extrinsic religious motivation (Pargament,1988). A second group were labelled as 'self-directing' as they perceived themselves to have a great sense of internal control over their lives. Pargament found this style to be positively correlated with intrinsic religious motivation. A third group were labelled as collaborative and were described as having a sense of being controlled by both internal and external factors. This sense of control was also positively correlated with intrinsic religious motivation. Thus, it can be seen that the findings of Pargament suggest that the relationship between locus of control and religiosity is far from settled. This is especially true when one consider the fact that older individuals often display a increase in intrinsic religious motivation coupled with an increase in a external locus of control.

AGE AND RELIGIOSITY

As I have stated, one of the main aims of this study is to examine the relationship between age and religion with the premise that different age groups will exhibit differences in religious activity, attitudes and behaviours.

Earlier studies investigating the relationship between age and religiosity reveal that there is a sharp decline in religious activity between the age of 18 and 30, followed by a continuous increase from 30 onwards (Fitcher, 1954; Gorer, 1955). This particular pattern has come to be known as the 'traditional theory'. Other research, however, has maintained that there is in fact no change in religious activity with age (Orbach, 1961; Lazerwitz, 1961). This has become known as the 'stability theory'. A longitudinal study by Nelson (1956) found an increase in positive religious attitude in a group of 836 individuals, tested first in early adulthood and again 14 years later. These individuals reported they were more involved in religious activities, put more effort into their church groups, and perceived they were benefitting more positively from religion. Bender (1958) and Kelly (1955) retested students after 16 and 20-year intervals respectively, and found increases in religious value as measured on the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey scale. A later study by

Shand (1969) reported no major changes in religious beliefs in a group of participants tested in college in 1942 and tested again in 1964. Although research in this area has come up with conflicting results, most results tend to support the view that religiosity does in fact change with respect to age. Wingrove and Alston (1971) examined many studies in this area and suggest that age effects, although influential, are less important than historical effects. For example, religion and religious beliefs may be affected by periods in history such as depressions and wars. Individuals may either hold onto their beliefs in God for support in these times or perhaps give up on religion because they see so much needless suffering around them. In general, there is a gradual decline in religiosity between early adulthood and the early stages of middle adulthood.

As far as middle adulthood and senescence is concerned most theories have postulated an increase in religious activity. Bender (1968) found that there is an increase in prayer, religious values, perception of the importance of religion and interest in religion itself. However, these reported increases have been limited in nature and the changes have been more in attitudes than in religious behaviour.

The most significant changes take place in old age. Firstly, church attendance becomes less regular as a number of studies have shown (Moberg, 1965). This reduction can be explained by the fact that old age brings along with it physical disabilities and less mobility. An early study by Kingsbury (1937) found that reasons for going to church changed with age. After 30 years the number responding 'habit', 'to encourage family attendance', 'to keep alive the spirit of Christ' and 'for reassurance or immortality' increased rapidly. Other reasons given tended to decrease with age, such as, 'to formulate a philosophy of life, 'to gain new friends' and to 'hear literature and music.' It was found that older people are much more likely to listen to radio or television services. Stark (1968) found that there was an increase in private religious prayer and meditation with increasing age. At 30 the percentage engaging in private prayer was 32%, while at 70 this increased to 72%. This increase would be expected perhaps, as older adults would make up for lack of church attendance by engaging in these activities on a more regular basis. In addition to more private prayer in old age, Moberg (1965) reports that older adults show an increase in positive attitudes towards religion as well as an increased conviction in their own beliefs. These changes occur more in females than males,

although the changes are reasonably small. An increasing number of older people regard themselves as more religious, more certain in their belief in God and more likely to think of God as a loving parent (Moberg, 1965).

In summary, it is possible to conclude that past research has supported the fact that there are inherent age-related differences in religiosity. Unfortunately, research into personality and religion is lacking and what little exists is too subjective to make any valid scientific claims. On the positive side locus of control and religious motivation do appear to have some similarities and therefore have displayed some relationship with each other.

RATIONALE

At about the end of the nineteenth century it became apparent that the growing science of psychology provided an instrument for the study of religion, and that such study might serve to increase our understanding of religious ways of behaving, thinking and feeling. It would be fair to say that the study of religion and religiosity within psychology has in some ways been neglected. It is both a young area of empirical investigation and one that has perhaps been avoided by researchers. Although the problems inherent

in the study of religion are still in many ways present, particularly with regards to defining exactly what religiousness is, this study hopes to contribute towards existing knowledge. The central focus is religious motivation and as previously stated in the introduction results have sometimes been unclear. Researchers have criticized the use of concepts like 'intrinsic motivation' and 'extrinsic motivation' and make the claim that operational definitions used in the past have not been sufficient. These criticisms are not addressed but are accepted as part and parcel of any research. The secondary factors of personality and locus of control with regards to religious motivation were seen as worth-while and practical additions to this present study. Hopefully, they will give us a better idea of some of the relationships involved in the study of religiosity and how that religiosity relates to other aspects of our lives.

Objectives and Hypotheses

The aim of this study is to determine what relationships, if any, exist between individual religiosity, personality, and age.

The specific hypotheses are as follows:

1. Intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivation are associated with particular age groups. That is, an individual's degree of intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivation will show systematic increases and decrease over the course of his or her life.
2. Intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivation are associated with particular personality traits. That is, an individual's personality characteristics may dictate the type of motivation that an individual has for his or her religion or religious way of thinking.

METHOD

Participants-Ninety individuals took part in this study. Thirty of these individuals were young adults who ranged in age from 19 to 24 years (mean age = 22.1 years). The second group consisted of 30 middle aged adults who ranged in age from 36 to 48 years (mean age = 41.9 years). The last group consisted of 30 elderly adults who ranged in age from 69 to 85 years; (mean age = 75.7 years). There were equal numbers of male and female participants in each group. All of the participants were community-dwelling individuals who described themselves as physically fit and active. Individuals who displayed obvious physical or mental difficulties that would restrict their participation were excluded from this study. Moreover, because this study investigated age differences in religiosity, only individuals that described themselves as having a religious background were included in the study. Religious background was defined by the frequency of church attendance by each individual. That is, the participants were selected if they at some time in their lives attended church at least once a week over a period of time. The descriptive statistics for the three groups of participants are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Analyses of these data revealed that self- ratings of the participants' health and physical activity showed a difference with age. As was expected, health and physical activity self-ratings of the elderly participants were lower than those of their younger counterparts. Occupation levels for the three groups was measured by Hollingshead's (1957) index of social position. It was found that all groups had similar occupation levels and were therefore thought to have similar socio-economic backgrounds.

Materials and procedures-Each participant was asked to complete a series of questionnaires to assess their religious attitudes and behaviours. It was thought that through the use of this test battery it would be possible to measure a wide range of religious behaviours and attitudes.

The measures used in this study were:

1. Religious Motivation Scale

This scale was developed by Allport and Ross (1966) in an attempt to distinguish between intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivation. Basically, Allport (1967) defines an extrinsically motivated person as one who finds meaning and importance in their religion primarily

in instrumental terms. That is, the individual uses his or her religion to obtain personal benefits. Religion in this case is used as a means to an end and is not considered important in its own right. Extrinsic people tend to use such beliefs in the interest of concerns such as; status, self justification, security and solace. For example, an individual who attended church because he or she wanted to see friends and socialize would be extrinsically motivated. In contrast, Allport suggests an intrinsically motivated person finds meaning and importance in their religion as an ultimate, integrating concern that permeates all aspects of life. For example, an individual who joins a bible study group as opposed to a social fellowship group would be considered to be intrinsically motivated because they presumably have the desire to learn more about religion and to grow more spiritually. In contrast, the individual who chose to join a social fellowship group would be classed as more extrinsically motivated as their motivation lies in external factors, in this case, socializing with friends.

In earlier research these two types of religious motivations were considered to be at opposite ends of a bipolar continuum. However, factor analyses by Feagin (1964) showed that Intrinsic and Extrinsic scales loaded on two separate dimensions That is, Extrinsic and

Intrinsic motivation were identified as being distinct motivational factors. The questionnaire contained 27 items and was answered on a 5 point Likert scale from 1- Strongly disagree to 5- Strongly agree.

2. NEO Personality Inventory

This scale was developed by Costa and McCrae (1985) for the purpose of identifying and measuring the major dimensions of personality that are thought to remain stable across the lifespan. It was included in the test battery to determine if differences in religious and motivation behaviour are related to patterns in an individuals personality. Past research has shown that the NEO Personality Inventory has been a most successful instrument in understanding a wide variety of behaviour such as vocational interests, health and illness behaviour, psychological wellbeing and coping styles. (Costa & McCrae 1984; Costa, McCrae & Holland, 1984)

The scale was selected because it was hypothesized that differences in personality might be related to differences in individual religiosity. For example, an intrinsically orientated individual may score higher on traits such as conscientiousness and agreeableness than an individual who is extrinsically motivated. Because a conscientious individual by definition is concerned about personal growth and inner wellbeing then a relationship with

intrinsic religious motivation which is also internally focused would be probable. In contrast, a person who rates low on conscientiousness would be less likely to be intrinsically motivated towards religion perhaps because the focus of the two does not match up. The scale contained 60 items answered on a 5 point Likert scale from 1- Strongly disagree to 5- Strongly agree. The 5 domains of personality that this questionnaire measures are described as follows:

NEUROTICISM

Neuroticism, as defined by Costa and McCrae, is a susceptibility to experience psychological distress in the form of negative emotions like anger, disgust, sadness and embarrassment. Along with these negative emotions comes unrealistic ideas, inability to control urges and to cope with stress. It was thought that Neurotic individuals may be more likely to use religion as a personality support than for personal growth and development. In this sense they may be more extrinsically motivated towards religion than intrinsically motivated. This use of religion would be for external purposes rather than internal growth.

EXTAVERSION

This trait is defined by Costa and McCrae as how much an individual prefers to interact or not interact with other individuals. In addition to liking people and preferring large groups and gatherings, extaverts are also assertive, active and talkative, they like excitement and stimulation, and tend to be cheerful in disposition. On the opposite end of this trait stands introversion, which should be seen not as an opposite to extraversion but the absence of it. Thus, introverts are reserved rather than unfriendly, independent rather than submissive, even paced rather than sluggish. The extraverted individual may use religion as just another expression of themselves. If their use of religion supports and complements their very personalities then it might be expected that the religion is used extrinsically.

OPENNESS

Openness, as defined by Costa and McCrae, is characterized by the ability to accept new experiences, ideas and values. Open individuals are curious about both inner and outer worlds and their lives are experientially richer. Open individuals are unconventional, willing to question authority and prepared to entertain new ethical, social and political ideas. In contrast, individuals scoring low on this

dimension tend to be conventional in behaviour and conservative in outlook. They prefer the familiar to the novel and their emotional responses are somewhat muted. Because the open individual is by nature more willing to accept and take on board new ideas and values Religion and religiosity may also be accepted and incorporated more easily into the open persons way of thinking.

CONSCIENTIOUSNESS

These individuals as defined by Costa and McCrae are characterized by persistent, businesslike and scrupulous behaviour. They are reliable, purposeful and well organized seeing much of life in terms of tasks to be accomplished. A conscientious individual may be on one hand conscientious about their own personal growth and inner wellbeing. From this perspective the focus is internal to the individual and the motivation is intrinsic. Conversely, the conscientious nature may be focused on getting ahead in life, making money and gaining social status in the community. This perspective is more external and the motivation is extrinsic.

AGREEABLENESS

This can be defined as a negative or positive orientation towards others. The agreeable person is fundamentally altruistic, he or she is sympathetic towards others and eager to help them. By contrast, the

disagreeable or antagonistic person is egocentric, skeptical of others intentions and competitive rather than cooperative. The agreeable person by their very nature would tend to be intrinsically rather than extrinsically motivated. Because the agreeable person is more sensitive to others needs then people are more likely to be placed before material things in terms of importance.

This scale has revealed that the personality traits it measures remain stable over one's life, although the way these traits are expressed changes. For example as a teenager anger may be expressed through physical means such as hitting out at someone, however in old age it may be expressed through verbal means.

In summary, the relationship between these five dimensions of individual personality and religious motivation is one of the main interests of this present study. This study sought to investigate the manner in which religious behaviours and attitudes are correlated with certain patterns in one's personality.

3. Locus of control

This scale was developed by Rotter (1966) in an attempt to determine whether a person thought his or her own behaviour to be controlled by external or internal factors. Rotter wanted to determine the degree to which an individual believes that rewards

are contingent upon his or her own behaviour or under the control of 'powerful others'. The term 'powerful others' refers to perceived events outside the individual over which the individual believes he or she has no control over such as luck, chance or fate. The term locus, or place of control, refers to whether or not an individual places the cause of events and circumstances in the environment or within themselves. An individual with an internal locus of control believes their own skills and talents to be responsible for the circumstances of their lives. For example, an individual who believed that their skill and determination were the reasons for winning an athletic contest would be operating from an internal locus of control. In contrast, an individual with an 'external locus of control' sees the actions, behaviours and events of their lives as taking place independent of themselves or not being able to be controlled by themselves. If this individual believed that they did not win a contest because it was not their "Lucky day" then they are most likely operating from an external locus of control.

The questionnaire contained 23 pairs of statements in a forced choice format, with 6 filler items designed to disguise the nature of the test. Past research has shown that Rotter's Locus of Control scale has clearly emerged as the primary scale employed in

examining the locus of control construct (Joe, 1971; Lefcourt, 1966, 1976). The scale was selected to investigate the relationship between an individual's perceived locus of control and their religious motivation. More specifically, it was thought that intrinsic religious motivation would correlate with an internal locus of control and extrinsic religious motivation would correlate with an external locus of control.

4. Internal reasons vs. External behaviours in religious behaviour

This scale was an ad hoc questionnaire containing 14 items. This scale was designed to allow the participants to make a direct statement of their religious motivation and behaviours. Participants were given a series of questions examining both 7 external and 7 internal behaviours and asked to indicate their agreement with these using a 5 point Likert scale from 1- Strongly disagree to 5- Strongly agree. Some of the questionnaire items are as follows:

External behaviours:

'Religion helps me in my dealings with other people.'

'My religious beliefs help me to deal with the problems of life more easily.'

Internal behaviours:

'My religious faith is important because it gives my life direction and purpose.'

'My life would be meaningless without my religion.'

'My religious beliefs are the result of a well thought out personal decision.' See Appendix 1 for the full scale.

5. Open-Ended Questionnaire

The final section of the scale was a non-structured open ended questionnaire designed to provide participants with a chance to express themselves freely without the restrictions of a set response format. The participants were told that these questions related to 3 aspects of religion, namely, its function, how it is shaped and why some individuals are religious and others are not (See Appendix 2). This questionnaire allowed for an opportunity to investigate other possible aspects of religiosity not examined by the more standardized questionnaires that comprise the major portion of the survey. Moreover, it was also thought that these questions would provide a means to determine the validity of the standardized questionnaires within this study, that is, do the patterns and relationships yielded in the open-ended questions support the results of the set response questionnaires?

RESULTS

The results of the participants' scores on the internal reasons-external behaviours scale of religious behaviours are presented in Figure 1.

 FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

These data represent the mean level of the three age groups' agreement with various internal-external reasons for religious motivation. These data were analyzed with two between subject factors (age group and gender), and one within subject factor (internal reasons or external behaviours) analysis of variance. No significant main effects were found. There was, however, an interaction between age group and internal reasons/external behaviours $F(2,84) = 19.6, p < .01$. No other significant interactions were found. Post Hoc testing using Tukey's method ($p < .05$) revealed that both the young adult and middle-aged groups of participants showed approximately equal levels of agreement with the statements regarding either external religious behaviours or internal religious reasons. This pattern was reversed for middle aged adults as agreement on internal reasons was higher than on

external behaviours. The elderly group of participants, however, showed significantly higher levels of agreement with internal reasons than on external behaviours.



The results of the religious motivation questionnaire are presented in Figure 2. These data represent young, middle aged and elderly participant agreement with the intrinsic-extrinsic religious motivation scale. These data were analysed with an analysis of variance with two between subject factors (age and gender), and one within subject factor (response on intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivation scale). No significant main effects were found. A significant interaction was found between age group and religious motivation $F(2,84)= 16.89, p<0.01$. Post Hoc testing, again using Tukey's method ($p<.05$), showed that intrinsic religious motivation remained at the same levels in the young and middle aged with a significant increase in the level of agreement in the elderly group of participants. In contrast, extrinsic religious motivation is significantly higher in young adulthood with middle age and elderly adults scoring slightly lower on this scale.

A series of correlational analyses was performed to investigate further the relationships between internal and external religious motivation and other measures of the participants' behaviour and personality. Firstly, it was hypothesized that religious motivation would correlate with specific patterns in individual personality traits. Secondly, It was thought that intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivation would correlate with internal and external locus of control respectively.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

The correlations between intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivations and personality measures for young adults are presented in Table 2. These correlations were analyzed with a t-test to determine significant patterns of results in the data. Results of these analyses are also shown in Table 2. Briefly stated, it was found that intrinsic religious motivation was correlated with locus of control scores for the young adult group. Internal reasons for religion were positively correlated with intrinsic religious motivation and negatively correlated with extrinsic religious motivation. External behaviours for religion was positively

correlated with intrinsic religious motivation and negatively correlated with extrinsic religious motivation. Internal reasons for religion was negatively correlated with the locus of control score.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

The correlations between intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivations and personality measures for middle-aged adults are presented in Table 3. As before, each of the correlations was analyzed with a t-test, the results of which are also shown in Table 3. Again the locus of control score was negatively correlated with intrinsic religious motivation. Internal reasons for religion were positively correlated with intrinsic religious motivation and negatively correlated with external locus of control. External behaviours were positively correlated with intrinsic religious motivation.

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

Correlations between intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivations and personality measures for elderly adults are

presented in Table 4. As before, each of the correlations was analyzed with a *t*-test, the results of which are also shown in Table 4. As in the two previous groups locus of control was negatively correlated with intrinsic religious motivation. Internal reasons for religion was positively correlated with intrinsic religious motivation, and negatively correlated with extrinsic motivation. External behaviours was positively correlated with intrinsic religious motivation, negatively correlated with extrinsic motivation and the external locus of control score.

Open Ended Questionnaire Scale

Participants were asked to respond to each question freely without the restrictions of a set response format (See Appendix 2). The participants' responses to each of the four questions were classified as belonging to one of four categories. These categories were defined by the researcher according to how frequently they were given as participant responses.

The first question, 'Why are some individuals religious and others are not?' had the response categories; 1. upbringing and education, 2. influence of others, 3. life experiences, and 4. personality. The second question, 'What is the function of religion?' had the response

categories; 1. purpose to life, 2. gives us direction, 3. means of coping 4. provides a foundation to life. The final question, 'What shapes and moulds an individuals beliefs?' had the response categories; 1. life experiences, 2. influence of others, 3. desire to investigate 4. regular church going and prayer. The responses were tabulated by recording the number of responses in each of the four categories. The validity of this scoring system was confirmed by having a second interviewer score each of the participant's responses. This second score was in total agreement with those of the first. Each of the three questions was examined with a Chi-square analysis. The results of the first question 'why are some individuals religious and others are not?' are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

These data represent the total number of participants whose responses fell into each of the four categories. These results, analysed with a Chi-square test, were non-significant.

TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE

Table 6 represents the results of the second Chi-square performed on the question, 'What is the function of religion?' These results were also non significant.

TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE

The results of the final question, 'What shapes and moulds individual religious beliefs?' are presented in Table 7, and again there were no significant results.

DISCUSSION

In summary, the study revealed a significant relation between religious motivation and age. For young and middle-aged adults intrinsic religious motivation remained at approximately the same level, with older adults showing significantly higher levels of intrinsic motivation. In contrast, extrinsic religious motivation was significantly higher in young adults while middle-aged and older adults scored slightly lower on this scale. In addition, this study also found a significant relation between the internal reason/external behaviour scale and age. The young and middle-aged adults showed approximately equal levels of agreement with both the internal and external religious behaviours scale. In contrast, elderly adults' levels of agreement on the internal reasons for religion scale was higher than their agreement on the external behaviour scale.

Consistent with the findings of other studies (Bender, 1968; Hood, 1978; Moberg, 1965), the present study found that internal religious motivation shows higher levels with in the elderly than in young adults. The consensus of these studies suggest than increased levels of internal religious motivation is due to the fact that with age religion becomes a more integral part of one's personality.

Bender (1968), for example, found older adults were more committed to their religion than were young adults. This commitment was characterized by regular church attendance, more private prayer and involvement in church activities. Moreover, Hood (1978) also found that older adults were more sure of what they believed and scored higher than young and middle-aged adults on the intrinsic motivation scale. Moberg (1965) has suggested that these age-related increases in commitment and certainty comes about because they have incorporated their faith as an integral part of their personality and therefore have less of a need to rely on external context to guide their religious activities .

The findings of these studies taken together with the findings of the present study provides empirical support for the life-span stage model of faith proposed by Fowler (1983). Briefly stated, Fowler suggests from middle-age and beyond individual belief becomes grounded in oneness and commitment. This is reflected in a stage of 'Universalizing Faith' in which the individual forms his or her own unique form of belief. Because this type of faith is constructed by the individual it is easily incorporated into one's personality and does not rely on external circumstances for validation. The increase in religious motivation, noted in this and other studies, would seem

to conform to the stage of 'Universalizing Faith' proposed by Fowler.

Unfortunately, analyses of the various personality measures few meaningful patterns of correlation with either the religious motivation or the religious behaviour measures. All groups of participants showed positive correlations between their levels of intrinsic motivation and their internal reasons for religious behaviours as well as negative correlations between intrinsic motivation levels and external religious behaviours. Moreover, all groups of participants also showed positive correlations between internal reasons for religiosity and external religious behaviours. Taken together this would seem to suggest that as one become more intrinsically motivated towards religion there is an increase in external religious behaviours. The only personality measure that displayed a relationship with intrinsic motivation was locus of control. The negative correlation between these two measures displayed by all age groups suggests that intrinsic religious motivation and a feeling of control over one's own behaviour are related to religiosity. Unfortunately, the lack of any meaningful correlations between the participants' personality scores on the NEO and any religious measures makes it impossible to suggest an

explanation for the increase in intrinsic religious motivation associated with maturation.

This finding suggests that further studies must take greater care in selecting the measures used to define both religious motivation and personality traits. Hunt and King (1971), for example, argue that Allport's definitions are too unstable and diffuse for research fruitfulness and state that more specific definitions are required. Hunt and King also suggest that differences found in studies using these concepts may be due to an interaction of several personality variables.

Another criticism points to the fact that these dimensions may have different meanings according to denomination (Strickland & Weddell, 1972). For example, individuals in the Baptist church are motivated towards having a personal relationship with Jesus Christ which on a motivational level is more internal than external. In comparison, individuals in the Salvation Army are motivated towards doing good works for others. This motivation is expressed on the external level more than the internal level. Therefore, Strickland and Weddell's criticisms about denominational differences also need to be addressed if the age-related differences in religious motivation is to be understood.

Apart from these concerns we must ask ourselves where does 'Religious Motivation' fit in with our personalities as a whole? Assuming that religious motivation does exist and can be measured objectively; Is it an isolated absolute value or is it the reflection or product of other aspects of what makes us who we are? For example, does the personality trait of altruism correlate with religious motivation? If an individual is high on the scale of altruism will that individual be more likely to be intrinsically motivated towards religion? These are questions that this study has not addressed but they do suggest and point to areas that can be addressed in future research.

Several different perspectives on what religious motivation encompasses have been put forward by different researchers in this area. Hunt and King (1971) state that religious motivation is a motivation for religious behaviour rather than the behaviour itself. Other researchers claim that religious motivation is part of our personalities more than anything else. Allen and Spilka (1976) view religious motivation as more of a personality variable and claim that these motivations may be one aspect of our personalities. Allen and Spilka note that with minor rewording of the scale items they might easily be applied to any area of institutional behaviour or

involvement. Therefore, one might be extrinsically orientated towards almost anything with religion only being a special case. Kahoe (1974) also echoes these ideas and maintains that an 'underlying personality variable links intrinsic religion and internal motivations.

With all these varying opinions on religious motivation what can we conclude? Is religious motivation just a special case of one's general motivational style, or is it a personality factor, a cognitive style or something else? A respected researcher in this area has recently described our motivation towards religion as a "hodgepodge" of attitudes, beliefs, values and behaviours (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990). I would say that all of these things contribute towards the makeup of religious motivation but we do need greater precision in our definitions from a scientific perspective. If our definitions remain imprecise and inconsistent it makes it difficult to construct the appropriate scales in our research.

In conclusion, this study has found that there are differences in religious motivation with respect to age. These differences are seen clearly when comparing the young and the elderly. Firstly, older adults are more intrinsically motivated towards religion than

younger adults. This is expressed by both behaviours and beliefs. Secondly, the religious beliefs of older adults are on a deeper level than the beliefs of the younger adult group. The beliefs of the older adult group are more stable, consistent and internal than those of the younger adult group.

These findings have been supported and confirmed by past research but there needs to be a focus on the label of 'Religious Motivation' and to what it is specifically referring. If we can arrive at better definitions and improved scales then we can move a step closer towards understanding the area of religion and religiosity.

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TABLE 1

Descriptive statistics for the six groups of participants.

<u>MEASURE</u>	<u>PARTICIPANT GROUP</u>					
	YOUNG		MIDDLE-AGE		ELDERLY	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
AGE	21.8	22.4	41.4	42.5	78.5	78.6
OCCUPATION ^{1.}	3.8	4.0	3.8	3.2	2.4	3.8
HEALTH ^{2.}	6.7	7.0	7.1	7.3	3.4	4.4
PHYSICAL ACTIVITY ^{2.}	6.1	6.5	6.5	6.2	3.6	4.0

1. This measure was adapted from Hollingshead's(1957) two-factor index of social position. This scale ranges from 1 to 7 with lower numbers representing higher levels of occupation.
2. These scales represent the participants' self ratings of their health and physical activity respectively. These scales ranged from 1 to 10 with higher numbers representing higher self assessments of health and physical activity respectively.

TABLE 2

Correlation matrix for young adults.

Variable	Age	Religious Motivation intrinsic	Religious Motivation extrinsic	Locus of control	Neuroticism	Extraversion	Openness	Agreeableness	Conscientiousness	Internal Reasons for Religion
Religious motivation intrinsic	-.003									
Religious motivation extrinsic	.135	-.075								
Locus of control	.198	-.485**	.136							
Neuroticism	-.090	-.214	.109	.590**						
Extraversion	-.201	-.009	-.010	-.458*	-.632**					
Openness	-.145	.187	.263	-.436*	-.548**	.483**				
Agreeableness	.130	.288	.012	-.494**	-.509**	.195	.449			
Conscientiousness	-.035	.224	.296	-.490**	-.471**	.535**	.538**	.403*		
Internal Reasons for Religion	-.127	.804**	-.408*	-.472**	-.190	.007	.060	.282	.046	
External Behaviours for Religion	.002	.637**	-.480**	-.562**	-.358	.154	.254	.390*	-.047	.670**

* p<.05, df=28

** p<.01, df=28

TABLE 3

Correlation matrix for middle-aged adults.

<u>Variable</u>	Age	Religious Motivation intrinsic	Religious Motivation extrinsic	Locus of control	Neuroticism	Extraversion	Openness	Agreeableness	Conscientiousness	Internal Reasons for Religion
Religious motivation intrinsic	.066									
Religious motivation extrinsic	.246	-.107								
Locus of control	.010	-.515**	.298							
Neuroticism	-.246	-.164	.126	.216						
Extraversion	-.090	-.069	.071	.133	-.192					
Openness	.366*	.149	-.172	-.064	-.563**	.116				
Agreeableness	.298	.317	-.06	-.215	-.581**	.027	.485**			
Conscientiousness	-.033	.075	-.078	.088	-.531**	.457*	.475**	.624**		
Internal Reasons for Religion	.128	.845**	-.391*	-.512**	.020	-.170	-.094	.141	-.051	
External Behaviours for Religion	-.207	.433*	-.455*	-.20	-.066	-.071	-.107	.076	-.123	.466**

* p<.05, df=28

** p<.01, df=28

TABLE 4

Correlation matrix for elderly adults.

Variable	Age	Religious Motivation intrinsic	Religious Motivation extrinsic	Locus of control	Neuroticism	Extraversion	Openness	Agreeableness	Conscientiousness	Internal Reasons for Religion
Religious motivation intrinsic	.367*									
Religious motivation extrinsic	-.227	-.484**								
Locus of control	-.096	-.496**	.323							
Neuroticism	-.122	-.206	.289	.287						
Extraversion	-.088	.306	-.140	-.254	-.788**					
Openness	.034	.209	-.264	-.266	-.550**	.450*				
Agreeableness	.132	.361*	-.378*	.140	-.698**	.541**	.676**			
Conscientiousness	-.085	-.026	-.211	-.311	-.786**	.499**	.410*	.493*		
Internal Reasons for Religion	.246	.730**	-.707**	-.256	-.128	.123	.195	.500**	.031	
External Behaviours for Religion	.355	.774**	-.685**	-.440*	-.221	.187	.286	.483**	.073	.842**

* p<.05, df=28

** p<.01, df=28

Table 5

Categorization of the participant's responses to the question 'Why are some individuals religious and others are not?'

<u>Category</u>	<u>PARTICIPANT GROUP</u>		
	Young	Middle-Age	Elderly
Upbringing and education	22	17	15
Influence of others	22	24	20
Life experiences	8	10	9
Personality	12	6	7

Table 6

Categorization of the participant's responses to the question 'What is the function of religion?'

	<u>PARTICIPANT GROUP</u>		
	Young	Middle-Age	Elderly
<u>Category</u>			
Purpose to life	21	21	17
Gives us direction	13	13	15
Means of coping	15	9	10
Foundation to life	12	6	7

Table 7

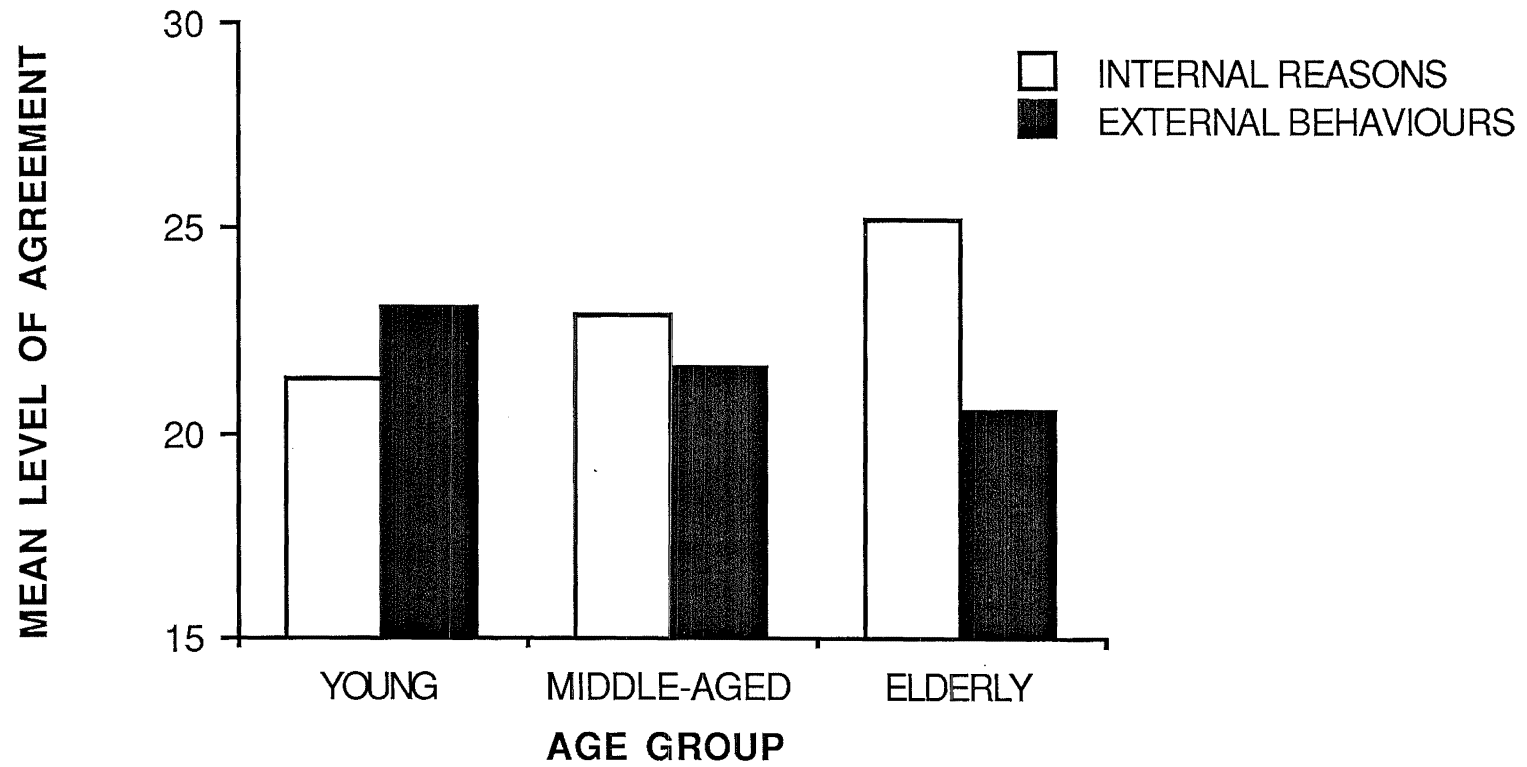
Categorization of the participant's responses to the question 'What shapes and moulds an individuals beliefs?'

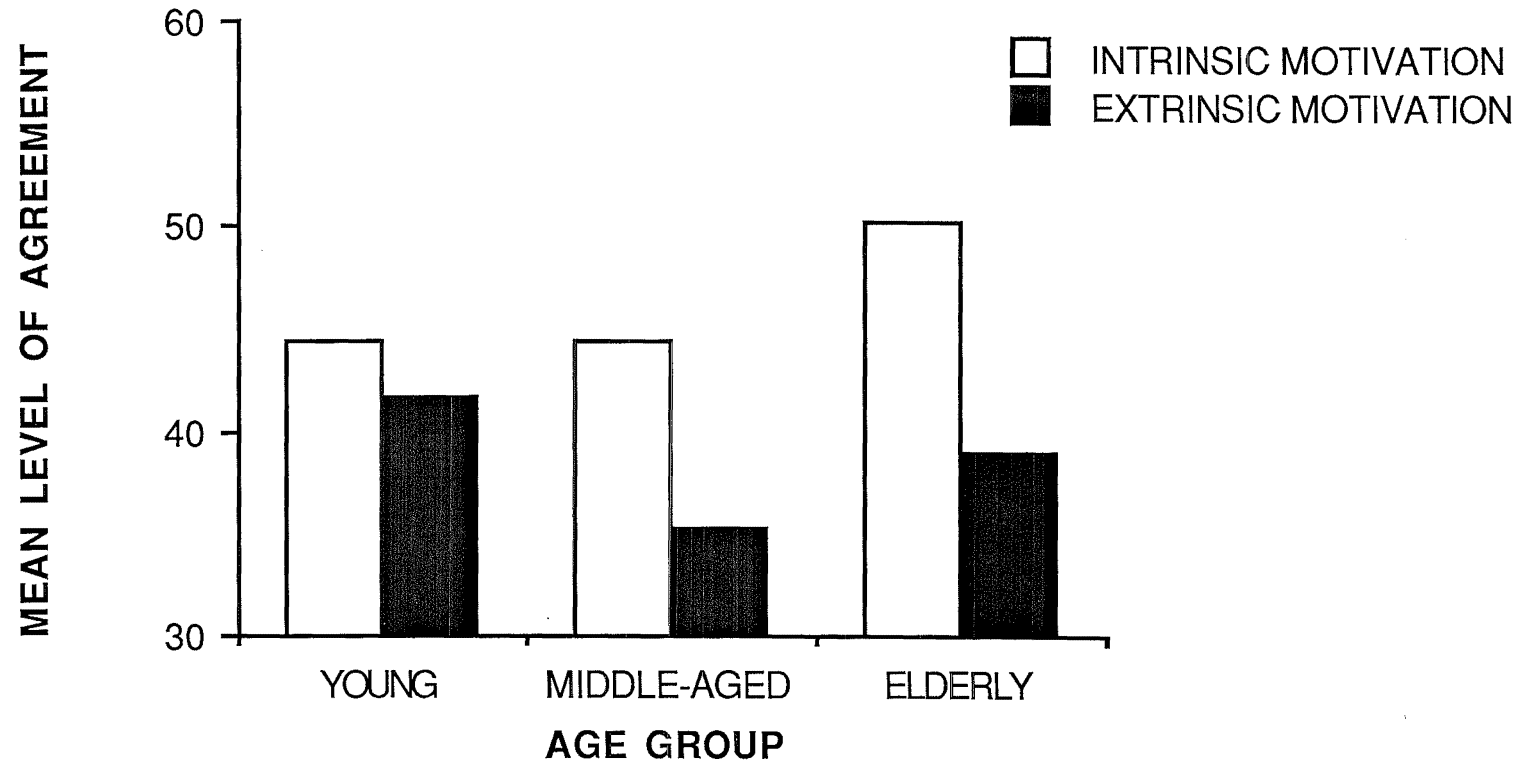
	<u>PARTICIPANT GROUP</u>		
	Young	Middle-Age	Elderly
<u>Category</u>			
Life experiences	20	18	13
Influence of others	16	14	24
Desire to Investigate	5	8	7
Regular Church going and prayer	12	14	9

Figure captions

Figure 1. Mean level of agreement of young, middle-aged, and elderly adults with questions regarding internal reasons for religiosity and external reasons for religious behaviours.

Figure 2. Mean level of agreement of young, middle-aged, and elderly adults with questions regarding reasons for intrinsic and extrinsic religious motivation.





Appendix 1

Religious motivation and behaviour scale.

MY RELIGIOUS FAITH IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT GIVES MY LIFE A
SENSE OF SECURITY AND COMFORT.

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

I AM A RELIGIOUS PERSON BECAUSE IT GIVES MY LIFE DIRECTION AND
PURPOSE

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

MY RELIGION HELPS ME TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF LIFE MORE
EASILY.

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

MY RELIGIOUS BELIEFS ARE THE RESULT OF A WELL THOUGHT OUT
PERSONAL DECISION.

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

MY FAITH HELPS ME TO BE MORE OF A COMPLETE PERSON.

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

MY LIFE WOULD BE MEANINGLESS WITHOUT MY RELIGION.

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

RELIGION HELPS IN MY DEALINGS WITH OTHER PEOPLE.

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

MY RELIGIOUS BELIEFS HAVE BEEN FORMED BY MY FAMILY AND FRIENDS.

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

MY RELIGION IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT FORMS THE FOUNDATION THAT SHAPPS ALL MY ATTITUDES, VALUES, OPINIONS AND MORALS.

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

THE REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS I RECEIVE IN LIFE ARE A DIRECT RESULT OF MY RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

MY RELIGIOUS FAITH IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT HELPS ME TO MAINTAIN GOOD PHYSICAL HEALTH.

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

MY PERSONAL FAITH MEANS THAT I CAN FIND WAYS TO HELP MYSELF
OVERCOME MY PERSONAL PROBLEMS.

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

I BELIEVE IN MY RELIGION BECAUSE IT WILL HELP ME WITH WHAT MAY
HAPPEN IN THE AFTERLIFE

1	2	3	4	5
STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

Appendix 2

The three open-ended questions used to examine the participants' views concerning their religiosity.

FINALLY I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU TO TELL ME IN YOUR OWN WORDS,
WHY ARE SOME INDIVIDUAL'S RELIGIOUS AND OTHERS ARE NOT?

WHAT FUNCTION DO YOU THINK RELIGION PLAYS IN AN INDIVIDUAL'S
LIFE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK SHAPES AND MOULDS AN INDIVIDUAL'S RELIGIOUS
BELIEFS?